Passivization in Japanese

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§ 1. INTRODUCTION

There are two different types of passive construction in Japanese. One has a corresponding 'active' sentence and the other does not. They are different syntactically, as well as semantically.

Traditional grammars have looked at the passive constructions mainly from the following angles : whether the subject of the passive sentence is animate or inanimate; whether the action directly or indrectly affects the subject; whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, and so on. Generally it has been agreed that the 'typical' Japanese passive construction has an animate (usually human) subject, and the action (or the incident) is a nuisance to, or inflicts some trouble or pain on, the subject (usually indirectly, but sometimes directly), and that intransitive as well as transitive verbs can be made passive. All these have been considered as remarkable characteristics of the Japanese language, although there are some who argue that they are not unique to Japanese.[1] It is admitted, however, that there are today the passive sentences with an inanimate subject being affected directly (without any implication of nuisance) by the action or the incident expressed by the verb. These are regarded as a recently developed construction, evidently influenced by European languages.

In all these discussions above, we cannot but think that the criteria for classifying various passive constructions, or for distinguishing between transtive and intransitve verbs, are quite

[1] I. Shinmura, for instance, claims that a German sentence such as *Oben wird getanzt.* shows that the German intransitive can also be made passive, and that the subject of a typical passive sentence in German is 'impersonal.' (*Gengogaku Josetsu*, pp. 117-122) S. Matsuo says that in English also in transitive verbs can be made passive, referring to sentences such as *The old man was listened to by them all*, or *A race is run by her.* (*Kokugohō Ronkō*, p. 794) But it seems to me that these examples have little in common with the passive of the intransitive which will be discussed here.

An interesting remark has been made by Y. Fukuda. He says that the Japanese passive formative (*ra*) *reru* (< (*ra*) *ru*) originally meant 'existence' and a verb of existence used as a passive formative is a common characteristics of all the Ural-Altaic Language family. (Jodōshi no Kinō 'Functions of Auxiliary Verbs' in *Kōgo Bunpō Kōza*, Vol 2, p. 303)

vague. Some even argue that whether or not a verb can be passivized cannot be the criterion for distinction between transitive and intransitive, because 'intransitive' verbs can also be passivized. All this confusion appears to stem from a failure to recognize the correlation between the syntactic and the semantic features. Of course there were some grammarians, such as K.Sakuma[2], A.Mikami,[3] or H.Kindaichi,[4] who tried to classify the verbs in explicit syntactic terms, but their views have not yet been generally accepted.

The aim of this paper is to characterize the Japanese passive constructions from a viewpoint of the Transformational-generative grammar and to see how we can incorporate the information provided by traditional grammars in a more systematic way within its general framework, upon which we shall touch only briefly in the following section.[5] In §§ 3, 5, and § 6 we discuss what we call the 'direct passive' and the 'indirect passive' respectively, and some general problems with regard to the paricles, mainly the particle *ni*, will also be touched upon.

§ 2. THE FRAMEWORK

The theory of gererative grammar assumes that the goal of the linguistic analysis of a language should be the formulation of a set of rules of the form X → Y, such that each sentence has a derivation from 'Sentence' in terms of these rules, and such that a structural description of the generated sentence is uniquely constructible from the derivation. Suppose, we have a sentence

(1) *Siroi hana ga niwa ni saita.* 'A white flower has come out in the garden.'
(*siroi* 'white', *hana* 'flower', *niwa* 'garden', *saita*, the perfect form of *sak*-'to bloom')

The rules to derive such a sentence might be formulated as follows :

Sentence → Subject + Predicate-Phrase

Subject → Noun Phrase + *ga*

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[2] Kanae Sakuma, *Gendai Nihon-go no Hyōgen to Gohō*, 1951, f. 208.

[3] Akira Mikami, *Gendai Gohō Josetsu*, 1953, p. 103,

[4] Haruhiko Kindaichi, "Toki, Tai, Sō Oyobi Hō" *Nihon Bunpō Kōza*, Vol. 1, 1957.

[5] I have previously provided a sketch of transformational analyses of Japanese grammar, in which the distinction between the direct and indirect passive constructions is roughly described. ("A Transformational Approach to Japanes Syntax" in *Journal of Osaka Univ. of Foreign Studies*, Vol. 16.)

Noun Phrase → Adjective + Noun

Predicate Phrase → (Place) Predicate-Aspect

Place → Noun + Adverbial Particle

Predicate → Verb

Adjective → *siroi*,……

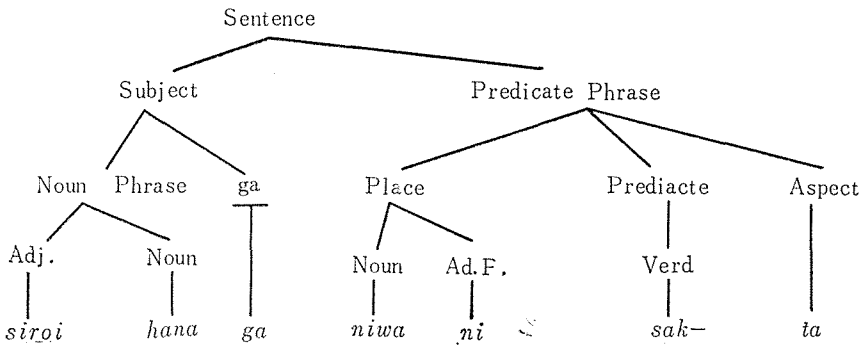
Noun → *hana, niwa*,……

Adverbial Particle → *ni*,……

Verb → *sak-*,……

Aspect → *ru, ta*,……

We can associate a 'tree diagram' with this derivation which might look like the following:[6]



However, if we were going to extend such a description to all the natural sentences as they

[6] Showing grammatical relations between the elements in a sentence by the configuration technique is in itself not a novel device in Japanese or in English grammars although they do not go beyond the limitations of traditional 'sentence-interpreting grammars.'

To show some of the examples :

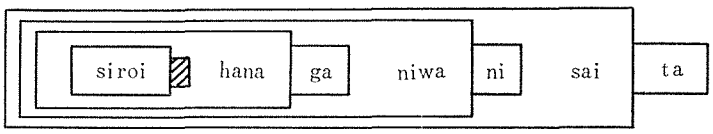
Shinkichi Hashimoto's Diagram :

siroi hana ga niwa ni saita

2 1 1 0
1 0
0

(where : a higher number is considered as modifying its immediaetly lower number, ultimately reaching 0, which indicates the end of a sentence.)

Tokieda's Diagram :



come up, it is clear that we would end up with extreme complexity, and we would not be able to state many real generalizations and interesting regularities underlying the language. The transrmational analysis, a new level of linguistic description, is thus motivated to eliminate a great many of these difficulties.

A transformational rule will operate on a string of symbols with a particular structural description, say, an 'active' sentence, and will convert it into a new string of symbols with a new structural description, a 'passive' sentence. A structural description, as configurated as in the above diagram, is called a *Phrase marker* (P-marker).

A transformational rule is characterized by a P-marker and a description of structural change, such as adjunction, deletion, and permutation (substitution).

The syntactic description of a language consists of *base* rules, a set of rules that generate a highly restricted set of basic strings, each with an associated P-marker called a *base P-marker*, and then the transformational rules as just described above.

§ 3. THE DIRECT PASSIVE

Turning now to the main topic of this paper, we can now ask how we should formulate the rules to generate the base P-marker fit for the 'passive transformation' to operate on.

Observing various types of passive constructions in Japanese, we find that some of them have corresponding 'active' constructions, while others do not. In other words, some of the Japanese passive sentences are quite readily interpreted as derived from a single string by a ('singulary') transformation as in English, but there are others that seem to preclude this interpretation. The latter type will be discussed in § 6. We will first consider the former type,

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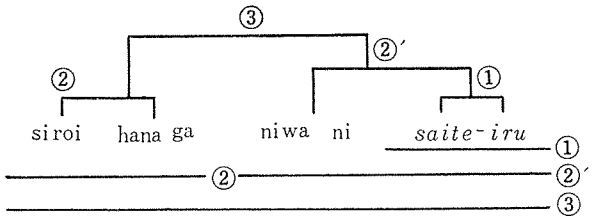
M. Shindō's Diagram :



(where : the numbers above the sentence show the relations between the constituents, and the lines with the numbers show the process of constructing the phrases up to the sentence.)

Shindō, "Sentence structures and their diagramming techniques" *Kōza Gendai-go*, Vol. 6. pp. 56-57.

which we shall call the 'direct' passive.

The earliest formulation of the English passive transformation was of the following form : [7]

$NP_1-Aux-V-NP_2$

$\rightarrow NP_2-Aux-be+en-V-by+NP_1$

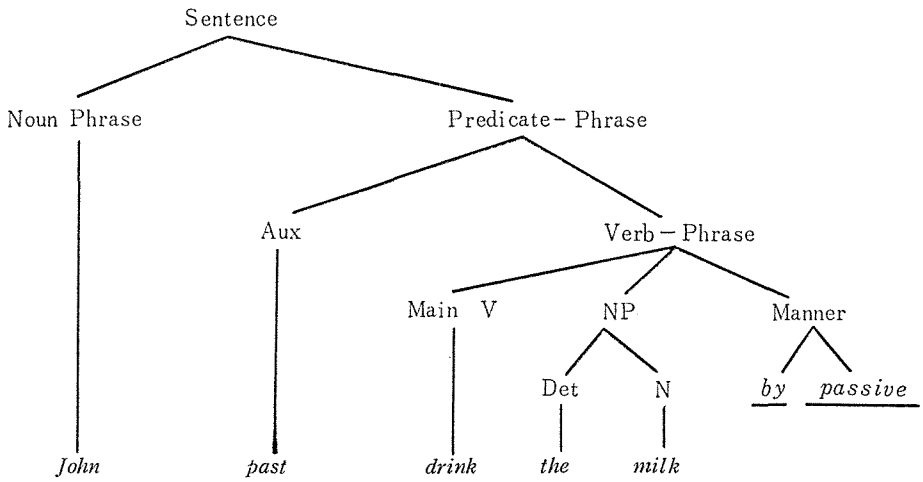
But with this formulation, the derived constituent structure would be hard to characterize in general terms, for, as has been pointed out by R. Lees, this new structure (the derived passive construction above) "appears to be created by the (passive) transformation *de novo* and thus of unspecified provenience."[8] In other words, this derived constituent structure is "motivated solely by the passive construction."[9]

This difficulty will be eliminated if we assume that the active sentence contains a Manner Adverbial dominating the phrase *by passive* (where *passive* is a "dummy" element to be replaced by the 'old' subject). The passive transformation would then simply be an operation which (1) substitutes NP_1 for the dummy symbol *passive*, (2) substitutes NP_2 for NP_1, and then adds a new auxiliary element *be* + *en*. This is what is meant by the following new formulation proposed by J.J. Katz-and P.M. Postal[10] and N. Chomsky.[11]

$NP_1-Aux-V-X-NP_2-Y-by\ passive-Z$

$\rightarrow NP_2-Aux+be+en-V-X-Y-by\ NP_1-Z$

The tree configuration of this new formulation would look like the following :



[7] Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, p.112 also pp. 72-81.
[8] R. Lees, *The Grammar of English Nominalizations*, p. 31.
[9] Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, p. 104.
[10] Katz-Postal, *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions*, Chapter 3.
[11] Chomsky, *Aspects*, pp. 103-5.

Still another reformulation has been proposed by K. Hasegawa. He suggests that the English passive constructions should be regarded as a kind of 'embedding' transformation, which we shall discuss in § 6, and suggests the following.[12]

NP, Aux, Passive, # [NP′, Aux, V, X, NP, Y, *by*, *Subject*, Z] #

→ NP, Aux, Passive V, X, Y, by, NP′, Z

(where # means Sentence boundary, Passive means the passive formative *be* + *en* which he considers as a part of the Main Verb and *Subject* is a dummy element.)

We shall consider this reformulation in our final section. For the time being, following Katz-Postal-Chomsky's new formulation, we tentatively describe the direct passive in Japanese as follows :

NP_1*ga*—NP_2*o*—V—Aspect—PASSIVE *ni* (*Kare ga kanozyo o koros-ta.*)

→ NP_2*ga*—NP_1*ni*—V—*rare*—Aspect (*Kanozyo ga kare ni koros-are-ta.*)

We cannot, however, associate the 'Manner Adverbials' with potentiality for passivization as in English. Also, the status of the passive formative *-rare-* is still not very clear in Japanese.

Admitting that the above formulation is a correct one on the whole, a little closer observation will tell us that in many actual passive sentences the particle *ni* is rejected, depending upon the main verb following NP_1. This seems to raise some problems about the particles in general. But before discussing this particular problem, we would like to take a quick glance at the particle systems in Japanese, focusing mainly on the various functions of *ni*.

§ 4. THE PARTICLES

Traditional grammars have defined the pariticles (*joshi*) as the bound forms which are not inflected. The bound forms which are inflected have been generally called 'auxiliary verbs.' The particles are usually subdivided into several groups such as 'Case particles,' 'Adverbial particles,' 'Particles related to the sentence nucleus (*kakari joshi*)', 'Conjunctive particles,' and so on. The Case particles includes such forms as *ga* (Subject marker), *no* ('of…'), *ni*, *o*, *e* ('toward…'), *to* ('with…', 'and', etc.), *kara* ('from'), and so forth. But obviously the names given to these particles to stand for various cases such as 'nominative', (or 'subjective'),

[12] Kinsuke Hasegawa, "English Passive Construction" (A memeographed paper presented at the *First International Seminar in Linguistic Theory*, Tokyo, 1966)

genitive", 'instrumental,' 'ablative' (for *kara*), etc. are nothing but imitation of Latin or Greek, or even Slavic, grammars, and have little relevance to Japanese grammar. Especially untenable is the view that various functions of a particle, for example *ni*, should be regarded as belonging to one particle under the name of one 'case' (say 'locative').

What is expressed by some particles in Japanese corresponds to the position within a sentence in English, while other particles are equivalent to some prepositions or conjunctions. For example, *o* expresses a place of a movement when it occurs with a certain group of intransitive verbs expressing movement such as going, walking, flying, or leaving, entering, whereas, when the verb is transitive, it indicates that the noun preceding is the 'object' of the following verb. Naturally we should distinguish two *o*'s.

Now let us examine the particular functions of *ni*, which concern us in the present discussion. Probably this is the particle which has the widest variety of functions. It can denote the following : (1) the 'indirect' object of some transitive verbs (*kodomo ni hon o ataeru* 'to give a book to a child'); (2) a state or a thing resulting from an action (*isya ni naru* 'to become a doctor', or *Necu ga mizu o zyōki ni kaeru* 'Heat changes water into vapor.'); (3) the time of an action (*7-zi ni okiru* 'to get up at 7'); (4) a location of a continuous state or action (*Tokyo ni sunde-iru* 'to live in Tokyo.'); (5) a person or a thing to which some particular property belongs or is attributed (*Kare ni nani ga dekiru ka* ? 'What is possible to him ?' or 'What can he do ? '); (6) the 'agent' of the passive sentence, i. e., the subject of the stem of the predicate verb in the passive sentence (*Kare wa kanozyo ni aisareta.* 'He was loved by her.').

The functions (1), (2), and (5) play significant roles in determining what is called the 'syntactic feature'[13] of the predicate verb or adjective, together with such particles as *o* (expressing Object). These particle phrases are distinct from the *N ni* phrase in the passive and should therefore be incorporated in the base rules. We shall discuss this again in the final section.

§ 5. DIRECT PASSIVE—Continued

Going back to the formulation of the direct passive, we shall now investigate how they are

[13] Cf. Chomsky, *Aspects*, Chapter 2.

affected by some particular properties of the predicate verbs. We have seen that the typical form of the agent in the passive construction is *NP ni*, but as a matter of fact, this *NP ni* in many cases is not accepted when actually constructing the passive sentences. There are roughly three different types of transitive verbs, which we shall examine one by one.

First, we have a group of 'simple' transitive verbs which take a single object. The object usually takes the form of *NP o*, but sometimes *NP ni* is chosen depending upon the verb.

(1) *Kare ga kanozyo o aisita.* ('He loved her.')

(2) *Mina ga sono kodomo ni dōzyō-sita.* ('Everybody sympathized with the child')

These are changed to passive according to the general rule without any problem.

(1′) *Kanozyo ga kare ni ais-are-ta.* ('She was loved by him.')

(2′) *Sono kodomo ga mina ni dōzyō-sare-ta.* ('The child was sympathized with by everybody.')

Secondly, there are some transitive verbs which take a 'double' object, like the 'dative verbs' in English. One of the double objects takes the form *NP o* ('direct object') and the other *NP ni* ('indirect object').

(3) *Kare ga kanozyo ni hana o okur-ta.* ('He sent her a flower.')

(4) *Watasi ga kare ni suugaku o osie-ru.* ('I teach him mathermatics.')

Included in this group are the verbs such as *ataeru* ('to give'), *miseru* ('show'), *sasageru* ('dedicate'), etc. We can construct two different passive sentences substituting either of the objects for the original subject, but a problem arises when we change *NP o* into *NP ga* (agent). See the following. (Asterick shows that the sentence is not grammatical.)

(3′) (i) *Kanozyo ga kare ni hana o okur-are-ta.* ('She was sent a flower by him.')

(3′) (ii) **Hana ga kare ni kanozyo ni okurareta.*

A native speaker would replace *kare ni* by *kare kara* ('from him').

(3′) (iii) *Hana ga kare kara kanozyo ni okurareta.*

This holds true with all these 'dative' verbs. The above observation shows that the *NP ni* expressing the indirect object is more closely associated with these dative verbs than *NP ni* expressing the agent of the passive construction. In other words, the 'cohesion' is stronger in the former pair. This is confirmed when we see that a sentence

(3″) *Hana ga kare ni okurareta.*

would be interpreted by the native speaker as meaning, 'A flower was sent to him,' and not 'A flower was sent by him,' and this is one motivation for proposing that the base rules be formulated in such a way that *NP ni* will play a role in the 'strict' subcategorization of the verb as discussed by Chomsky.[14]

It may be worthwhile to mention that Japanese has a unique system of expressing 'giving and receiving,' and that the verbs composing this system do not undergo the passive transformation, because they each express a specific relation of giving or receiving.

Kare ga kanozyo ni hon o yar-u. ('He gives her a book.')

but not : **Kanozyo ga kare ni hon o yar-are-ru.*

The situation 'She was given a book by him' is expressed in this system as

Kanozyo ga kare ni hon o moraw-u.

But we shall not go into this detail here.

Thirdly, we can identify those transitive verbs which typically take one object and an 'objective complement.' These resemble what are semetimes called 'factitive' verbs in English grammars. For example,

(5) *Necu ga mizu o zyōki ni kae-ru* ('Heat changes water into vapor.')

(6) *Wareware wa kare o gicyō ni erab-ta.* ('We elected him chairman.')

The object is expressed by *NP o*, and the 'objective complement' by *NP ni*. These sentences could be interpreted as derived from

(7) *Mizu ga zyōki ni naru.* ('Water becomes vapor.')

(8) *Kare ga gicyō da.* ('He is a chairman.')

on the one hand, and

(9) *Necu ga*……CAUSATIVE

(10) *Wareware ga*……CAUSATIVE

on the other, by what is called 'generalized transformation' which we will see in the case of the 'Indirect passive' in the following section. But since our present concern is with particular inherent properties of various transitive verbs, we will not go into the discussion here. We simply look at these verbs from the viewpoint of the passive transformation.

We can construct only one passive out of the sentence containing this type of verbs, since

[14] Chomsky, *Aspects*, Chapter 2.

NP ni here is not an object. But when changing *NP o* into *NP ga*, we are faced with the same difficulty as in the case of the dative verbs.

(5′) (i) **Mizu ga necu ni zyōki ni kae-rare-ru.*

The remedy would be to replace *necu ni* by *necu ni yoqte*, although this sounds a little bookish. This was originally *ni* plus *yoqte*, a participial form of the verb *yoru* 'depend'.

(5′) (ii) *Mizu ga necu ni yoqte zyōki ni kae-rare-ru.*

(6′) *Kare ga wareware ni yoqte gicyō ni erab-are-ta.*

This again tells us that these 'factitive' verbs are more closely associated with *NP ni* expressing a state resulting from the following verb (the function (2) of *ni* as mentioned in § 4) than with *NP ni* expressing the agent in a passive sentence. This information should also be incorporated in formulating the base rules in Japanese.

§ 6. THE INDIRECT PASSIVE

So far we have seen various types of 'direct passive', the passive construction which has a corresponding active construction. We have seen that this construction can be characterized by the ordinary passive transformation in essentially the same way as in English. This is a kind of 'singulary transformations', that is, the transformation operating only on a single P-marker.

There are, however, some passive constructions in Japanese which have no conresponding active sentences as we have seen briefly in Section 1. This type of passive construction rejects the same analysis we tried in the preceding section, since it is clear that these cannot be derived from a single P-marker.

Consider the sentence

(1) *Watasi ga ame ni hur-are-ta.*

(where : *watasi* 'I', *ame* 'the rain', *hur-ta* 'rained, fell.')

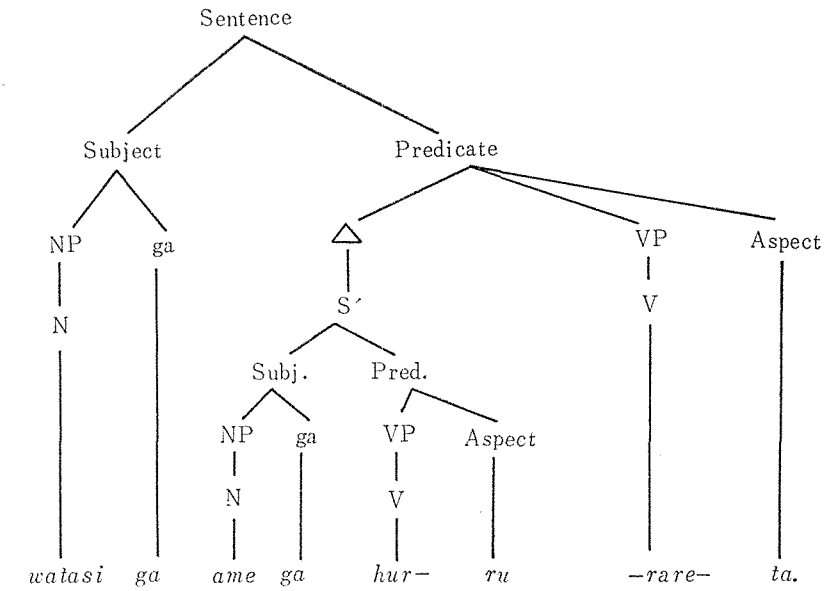
The subject of the verb *hur-ta* is clearly *ame*, and the sequence *Watasi ga* ……*hur-are-ta* means that *watasi* ('I') suffer some sort of loss as a result of what is expressed by the verb, which in this case. is (*ame ga*) *huru*. An adequate syntactic analysis should be able to account for these facts. So, in order to characterize the facts that *ame ga* is the subject of the verb stem *hur-* on the one hand, and that *watasi ga* is the subject of the passive formative *rare-* on the other, we are forced to think of two underlying sentences

(a) *Watasi ga·····rare-ru*
(b) *Ame ga hur-u* ('The rain falls.')

The transformation which combines these two sentences is that of 'embedding', that is, the sentence (b) 'is embedded' in the first one with some modification.

Transformations which operate on a set of (usually two) P-markers to produce a single new P-marker (a 'derived P-marker') are called 'generalized transformations'.

The P-marker which is embedded is called the 'Constituent P-marker', and that which has a subpart embedded in it is generally referred to as the 'Matrix P-marker.' In the above example, sentence (a) is a Matrix sentence, and (b) a Constituent sentence. The general assumption that every Matrix P-marker has one (or more) *dummy element* (△) somewhere in its final derivation, a morpheme which never occurs in any natural sentence,[14] proves adequate and useful in analyzing such a construction as the indirect passive in Japanese. Thus the underlying P-marker for the above sentence (1) would look like this :



This indirect passive construction always implies that the subject of the passive sentence suffers some sort of loss or feels some kind of nuisance or embarrassment as a result of what has been caused by the Constituent sentence. This information might be incorporated in the grammar by stating it in the lexicon as one semantic feature of the form *-rare-*.

[14] Katz-Postal, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3.

This tnansformation operates on the Constituent P-marker which has a class of transitive verbs as its Main verb, as well as that which has an intransitive verb as its Main verb. Thus

Watasi no saihu ga dorobō ni tor-are-ta. ('My purse was stolen by a thief.')

is identified as a direct passive, as it is derived from a single string

Dorobō ga watasi no saihu o tor-ta. ('A thief has stolen my purse.')

whereas the sentence

Watasi wa saihu o dorobō ni tor-are-ta. ('I had a purse stolen by a thief.')

is an indirect passive construction, because it is a derivation from two underlying sentences

$$\begin{cases} \textit{Watasi ga}\cdots\cdots\textit{rare-ta} \\ \textit{Dorobō ga saihu o tor-ta.} \end{cases}$$

Thus both transitive and intransitive verbs can undergo the indirect passive transformation. There are, however, a small group of verbs which cannot. These are : *aru* ('to exist'), *iru* ('to exist' for animate subject), *iru* ('to need'), *dekiru* ('to be possible'), *wakaru* ('to be understandable'), and those verbs which are formed by adding the potential formative *-e-∞-rare-*to the stems, e. g., *nomeru* ('to be drinkable'), *taberareru* ('to be eatable'). These seem to have some specific common features distinct from other ordinary verbs, e.g. that they cannot combine with *-te iru*, the present continuous form, or that they have no imperative form, or they are typically preceded by NP *ni*……NP *ga*……, and so on. They might very well be classified as a special kind of adjective.

§ 7. SUMMARY

Verbs that undergo the direct passive transformation as tentatively formulated in § 3 are transitive. NP *o* or NP *ni* that precedes the transitive verb is the object of the verb.

The rest of the verbs are intransitive.

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may undergo the indirect passive transformation. More precisely, the predicate verb of the Constituent sentence in the indirect passive transformation may be transitive or intransitive. The passive formative *-rare-* which appear in the indirect passive implies some kind of nuisance, embarrassment, or loss on the part of the subject of the passive construction, whereas the *-rare-* appearing in the direct passive does not contain such an implication.

Verbs are subcategorized in terms of their coocurrences with the phrases consisting of a Noun-phrase and a particle ('case' particle) such as NP *o*, NP *ni*, etc., in some particular order. NP *ga* is always the subject of a sentence, which, being out of the domain of the Verb-Phrase, is not considered as playing a role in subcategorizing verbs just as the phrases expressing Time and Place are not considered.

There is a view that the particles *ga* and *o* should be introduced by 'adjunction rules', assuming that the subject and object are not marked by the particles in the base phrase structure.[15] I am not fully convinced of this for several reasons, but we can not discuss this problem here. I would rather have the base rules introduce *ga* as the subject marker, and *o* as the object marker.

We now formulate the base rewriting rules as follows :

Sentence → Subject + Predicate-Phrase

Subject → Noun-Phrase + *ga*

Predicate-Phrase → (Place) (Time) Predicate (Auxiliary) Aspectual-suffix

$$\text{Predicate} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Verb-Phrase}\\ \text{Adjective-Phrase}\\ \left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Noun-Phrase}\\ \text{Adjectival Noun}\end{array}\right\}\end{array}\right. + \text{Copula}$$

$$\text{Verb-Phrase} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{(NP } ni_1\text{) (NP } o\text{) (Adverb-Phrase)}\\ \text{(NP } ni_2\text{)}\\ \text{(NP } ni_5\text{)}\\ \text{Sentence } to\end{array}\right\} + \text{Verb}$$

Adverb-Phrase → Direction, Duration, Degree, Manner, etc.

Auxiliary → Passive (*-rare-*), Causative (*-sase-*), Potential (*-e-∞-rare-*), etc.

Aspectual Suffix → Imperfect (*-u-∞-ru-*), Perfect (*-ta-*)

Here it is tentatively assumed that *Manner* dominates something that is related to passivization.

Before concluding, let us look at Hasegawa's proposal to reformulate the English passive

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[15] Kuroda, S-Y, '*ga*, *o*, oyobi *ni* ni tsuite' *Kokugo-gaku*.
Also Inoue, Kazuko, 'Japanese Particles' (A memographed paper presented at the First International Seminar in Linguistic Theroy, 1966)

transformation, as mentioned in § 3. He seems to neglect the distinction between the direct and indirect passives in Japanese, although this does not necessarily invalidate his claim. In formulating the indirect passive in § 6, I suggested that the predicate of the Matrix sentence should be conceived of as '(a sentential complement) + *-rare-*', but on second thought, the same thing could be said with the direct passive. That is, in a passive sentence, for example,

Kare ga kanozyo ni koros-are-sa. ('He was killed by her.')

it could be said that the predicate of the NP *kare ga* is the passive formative *-rare-*, while on the other hand the predicate verb of *kanozyo* is the Main verb *koros-*. Likewise in English, it may be possible to say that, in the above example, the subject of the verb "kill" is "her", and "He" is the subject of "be……ed".

Thus adopting the basic idea of Hasegawa's formulation of the (direct) passive transformation, the direct and the indirect passives in Japanese would look like this :

Direct Passive :

NP_1 *ga* — # [NP_2 *ga*—X—NP_1 *o*—Y—V—*Subject ni*] # —Passive— (*-rare-*) Asp. Suffix

→ NP_1 *ga* —NP_2 *ni*—X—Y—V+Passive—Asp. Suffix

Indirect Passive :

NP_1 *ga* — # [NP_2 *ga*—X—V—*Subject ni*] # —Passive—Asp. Suffix

→ NP_1 *ga* — NP_2 *ni*—X—V+Passive—Asp. Suffix

or,

NP_1 *ga*— #[NP_2 *ga*—X—NP_3 *o*—Y—Subject *ni*] # —Passive—Asp. Suffix

→ NP_1 *ga*—NP_2 *ni*—X—NP_3 *o*—Y—V+Passive—Asp. Suffix

From the above we can say that in the direct passive the *NP* of *NP ni* in the embedded sentence should be identical with the *NP* of *NP ga* in the Matrix sentence in order to be deleted (the 'identity condition'), whereas in the indirect passive the embedded sentence does not need to have such an *NP*.

It appears to me, however, that the difference between the direct and the indirect passive constructions lies not so much in the condition of identity of the two NP's as in the difference in their whole derivational history. To suppose the existence of two underlying sentences, with the above conditions, in the case of the direct passive, does

not seem to reflect the intuition of the native speaker, as it may do in the case of the 'Relative' transformation in English. While in the case of the indirect passive, the above formulation seems to be the only natural one, as it will be for such English sentence types as 'He had his house painted.'

The similarity of the surface structures of the two passive constructions sometimes leads Japanese students to generate such an ungrammatical English sentence as 'She was stolen her handbag,' when he should have said, 'She had her handbag stolen.' Thus distinguishing the two different passive transformations in Japanese as proposed in this paper will lend itself to a comparative study of different languages. (September, 1966)

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